

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 20187 01 OF 02 301725Z

46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 ACDA-07 EB-07 COME-00

TRSE-00 EURE-00 BIB-01 STR-04 OMB-01 /118 W

----- 050934

P R 301708Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3703

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 20187 01 OF 02 301725Z

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USIA WASHDC  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 20187

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, XT, FR, XF, GW, IS  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS: THE  
MORNING AFTER

REFS: A. BONN 20087; B. BONN 20085

BEGIN SUMMARY: NOW THAT MOST OF THE DUST HAS SETTLED  
FOLLOWING THE THREE-DAY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS  
IN GENEVA NOVEMBER 26 TO 28, IT IS USEFUL TO CONSIDER  
WHAT RESULTS THE CONGRESS MIGHT HAVE ON THE KEY  
PARTICIPANTS. THE RESOLUTIONS AGREED UPON WERE COMPRO-  
MISES, HAMMERED OUT AMONG A VERY DIVERSE GROUP OF  
POLITICAL PARTIES, DESPITE THEIR COMMON CLAIM TO BEING  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST.

THE NORTH-SOUTH EUROPEAN SPLIT PERSONIFIED BY THE  
GERMANS AND THE FRENCH MADE COMPROMISE ON SOME ISSUES  
(EUROCOMMUNISM) EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, AND THE RESULT WAS  
THAT NEITHER SIDE WAS COMPLETELY SATISFIED. WHEN THE  
RESOLUTIONS ARE LOOKED AT IN THE CLEAR LIGHT OF THE  
DAY BACK IN THE RESPECTIVE CAPITALS, THEY ARE BOUND TO  
BE MORE CONTROVERSIAL AND LESS ACCEPTABLE THAN THEY WERE  
IN THE HEAT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 20187 01 OF 02 301725Z

THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN GENEVA ARE AMBIGUOUS  
ENOUGH THAT ALL THE MAJOR PARTIES INVOLVED CAN LIVE  
WITH THEM- ALBEIT WITH A SLIGHT CASE OF DOMESTIC  
POLITICAL HEARTBURN. IN ANY EVENT, THE DECISIONS OF THE  
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE BINDING  
ON THE PARTICIPATING PARTIES SHOULD THEY PROVE TO GET  
INTO THE WAY OF NATIONAL POLITICAL GOALS. END SUMMARY.

1. AS MENTIONED IN THE REFTELS, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO OVERESTIMATE THE DIVERSITY OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES THAT MAKE UP THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE CORE GROUP OF LEADERS WHO ARE THE PRIME MOVERS IN THE ORGANIZATION ARE ALSO DIVIDED ON SOME OF THE MAJOR ISSUES.

2. ON PARTICULAR ISSUES, ONE OR ANOTHER SOCIALIST LEADER WILL BE IMPORTANT (RABIN ON THE MIDDLE EAST) AND THE TWO NEUTRALS, AUSTRIA AND SWEDEN, ALSO PLAY A LEADERSHIP ROLE; THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY LESS IMPORTANT. HOWEVER, THE TWO MAJOR FORCES IN THE SI ARE THE FRENCH PS AND THE WEST GERMAN SPD.

3. WHILE BRANDT AND MITTERRAND SHARE A MORE COMMON "WELTANSCHAUUNG" THAN SCHMIDT AND MITTERRAND, THERE IS STILL A CONSIDERABLE DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE TWO MEN BASED ON THEIR POLITICAL OUTLOOK AND THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THEY OPERATE.

4. IN ORDER FOR THE SPD TO GOVERN IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND FOR THE PS TO COME INTO POWER IN FRANCE, BOTH PARTIES REQUIRE A COALITION PARTNER. IN THE CASE OF THE SPD, IT IS THE WEST GERMAN LIBERAL PARTY (FDP) WHICH PLAYS A CONSERVATIVE ROLE WITHIN THE COALITION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 20187 02 OF 02 301725Z

46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 IO-13 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 ACDA-07 EB-07 COME-00

TRSE-00 EURE-00 BIB-01 STR-04 OMB-01 /118 W

----- 050937

P R 301708Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3704

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 20187 02 OF 02 301725Z

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USIA WASHDC

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 20187

THUS, SPD CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT MUST CONTINUALLY  
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS OF A PARTNER ON THE RIGHT.

MITTERRAND'S PS ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS AS ITS PARTNER THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND MUST ALWAYS PROTECT ITS LEFT FLANK.

5. IN ADDITION, THE SPD IS IN GOVERNMENT WITH ALL THE RESPONSIBILITIES THAT ENTAILS, AND THE PS IS IN OPPOSITION. FINALLY, THE WHOLE POLITICAL SPECTRUM IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN IN FRANCE, SO THAT ON MOST ISSUES THE SPD LEFTISTS ARE NOT AS LEFT-WING AS THEIR FRENCH COUNTERPARTS.

6. GIVEN THESE DIFFERENCES IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ARE CONFUSING AND OFTEN FULL OF SELF-CONTRADICTIONS. BOTH SIDES IN THE HEAT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE LIKELY TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE, BECAUSE IT IS BETTER THAN WHAT THE OTHER SIDE IS PROPOSING, WHICH AFTERWARDS BACK IN THEIR OWN CAPITALS IS NOT QUITE SO ACCEPTABLE. SCHMIDT WAS QUICK, FOR EXAMPLE, TO DISTANCE HIMSELF PUBLICLY FROM SOME PARTS OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE GENEVA CONGRESS, BOTH OUT OF CONVICTION AND FOR DOMESTIC

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 20187 02 OF 02 301725Z

POLITICAL REASONS -- THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR IS IN THE PROCESS OF WRAPPING UP NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE LIBERALS TO FORM A NEW SOCIAL-LIBERAL COALITION AND HE CANNOT AFFORD TO FRIGHEN THEM OFF IN THE NAME OF SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY.

7. MITTERRAND FACES THE OPPOSITE PROBLEM.

8. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO TAKE THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENEVA SI CONGRESS TOO SERIOUSLY. NOT ONLY ARE THEY COUCHED IN LANGUAGE MORE IDEOLOGICAL THAN PRECISE, BUT THEY ARE NOT REALLY BINDING ON MEMBER PARTIES, EXCEPT IN THE MOST GENERAL TERMS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY SHOULD NOT BE DISMISSED OUT OF HAND, AS THEY REPRESENT THE SIGNPOSTS WHICH POINT OUT THE DIRECTIONS IN WHICH SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL MOVEMENT WOULD LIKE TO MOVE.  
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SOCIALISM, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, PARTY MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, RESOLUTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 30 NOV 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976BONN20187  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760443-0878  
**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t1976111/aaaaaahv.tel  
**Line Count:** 267  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 BONN 20087, 76 BONN 20085  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** BoyleJA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 31 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by hartledg>; APPROVED <05 AUG 2004 by BoyleJA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS: THE MORNING AFTER  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, XT, FR, XF, GE, IS  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006